

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 PARIS 08261 01 OF 02 081823Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 IO-13 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12 /101 W  
-----019854 081914Z /53

R 081812Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8340  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 08261

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: FR, NI  
SUBJECT: FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO NIGERIA

1. SUMMARY: DURING FRENCH FONMIN DE GUIRINGAUD'S  
MARCH 1-4 VISIT TO LAGOS, FRENCH WERE IMPRESSED BY  
NIGERIAN FRANKNESS AND BY THE STRENGTH OF THEIR VIEWS  
ON AFRICAN PROBLEMS. NIGERIAN COMMISSIONER GARBA  
WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN  
RHODESIA, AND CRITICIZED US AND UK "AMBIGUITY" ON  
THIS DEVELOPMENT. HE ALSO EXPRESSED FRANK VIEWS  
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PAGE 02 PARIS 08261 01 OF 02 081823Z

ON NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICA, THE HORN AND CHAD. END  
SUMMARY.

2. QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRANCOPHONE AFRICA  
(GUEGUINOU), WHO ACCOMPANIED DE GUIRINGAUD ON HIS  
TRIP TO NIGERIA AND ATTENDED ALL MEETINGS THERE,  
GAVE US A RUNDOWN ON THE VISIT MARCH 8. GUEGUINOU

SAID DISCUSSIONS FOCUSSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON AFRICAN ISSUES AND, DESPITE SNIPING OF NIGERIAN PRESS, REFLECTED AN OPEN AND POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE. FRENCH UNDERTOOK THE VISIT IN AN EFFORT TO DEVELOP THEIR POLITICAL TIES WITH ENGLISH-SPEAKING AFRICAN STATES, AND ARE GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS, WHICH THEY BELIEVE HELPED TOWARD MUTUAL COMPREHENSION. FRENCH WERE PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED BY FRANK AND STRAIGHTFORWARD WAY IN WHICH NIGERIANS PRESENTED THEIR POSITIONS, AND BY THE STRENGTH OF THEIR FEELINGS ON AFRICAN ISSUES. COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES FOLLOW:

3. RHODESIA: GARBA WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE POINTED OUT THAT, EVEN IF RESULTING REGIME OBTAINS SUPPORT FROM SOME COUNTRIES, MANY AFRICAN STATES WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT PATRIOTIC FRONT, AND THEREFORE THE GUERILLA WAR WILL CONTINUE. THE ONLY WAY TO END GUERILLA WAR WOULD BE AN AGREEMENT WHICH INCLUDES ALL POLITICAL ELEMENTS. GARBA SPECIFIED THAT THIS DOES NOT MEAN NIGERIA SUPPORTS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT; THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WILL CHOOSE THEIR POLITICAL LEADERS, BUT NO POLITICAL GROUPINGS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED. GARBA WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF THE US AND UK ROLES IN THE EVOLVING RHODESIAN SITUATION. SINCE THE MEETINGS IN MALTA, CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 PARIS 08261 01 OF 02 081823Z

HE SAID, HE HAD NOT BEEN KEPT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS. HE CRITICIZED US AND UK "AMBIGUITY" ON THE INTERNAL RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT, AND FELT STRONGLY THAT A UN RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS NECESSARY TO DEMONSTRATE THAT SUCH A SOLUTION IS IMPOSSIBLE.

4. NAMIBIA: GARBA WAS FAVORABLE TOWARD THE PAPER PROPOSED BY THE WESTERN FIVE. HE THOUGHT THIS WAS A POSITIVE STEP AND WAS LARGELY ACCEPTABLE, BUT, HE SAID, SEVERAL ADDITIONAL SOUTH AFRICAN CONCESSIONS WOULD BE NECESSARY, E.G. SOUTH AFRICAN TROOP LOCATIONS SHOULD BE IN THE SOUTH. DE GUIRINGAUD ARGUED THAT IT WAS UNREASONABLE TO SUGGEST STATIONING TROOPS ONLY IN THE SOUTH WHERE THEY WOULD BE SEPARATED FROM THE POPULATION THEY ARE INTENDED TO PROTECT. GARBA REPLIED THAT HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING TOTAL TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND THAT HE HAD INSISTED WITH SWAPO THAT TOTAL WITHDRAWAL WAS NOT POSSIBLE. GARBA ALSO SUGGESTED THAT, SHOULD THERE BE DISPUTES BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICAN ADMINISTRATOR AND REPRESENTATIVE OF UN SECGEN, IT SHOULD BE AGREED IN ADVANCE THAT THE FINAL DECISION

WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF UN SECGEN'S REP. IN  
GENERAL, GARBA SAID, HE WAS URGING SWAPO TO TAKE  
REASONABLE POSITIONS.

5. SOUTH AFRICA: GARBA RECOGNIZED THAT THE SOUTH

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PAGE 01 PARIS 08261 02 OF 02 081854Z  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 08261

AFRICAN PROBLEM IS NOT A "COLONIAL" PROBLEM, BUT  
RATHER A SUI GENERIS AFRICAN PROBLEM. NEVERTHELESS,  
HE INSISTED THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA MUST  
CHANGE, AND ARGUED STRONGLY THAT THE WEST, INCLUDING  
FRANCE, SHOULD PRESSURE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TOWARD  
CHANGE. HE WAS EVIDENTLY PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF  
THE FRENCH ATTITUDE, BUT FRENCH RESPONDED THAT THEIR

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA WERE IN FACT  
MUCH MORE LIMITED THAN SOME OTHER WESTERN NATIONS.  
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PAGE 02 PARIS 08261 02 OF 02 081854Z

GARBA SAID THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD REALIZE  
THAT APARTHEID IS CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR  
REVOLUTION AND COMMUNISM IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE CITED  
CANADA AS AN EXAMPLE OF HOW WESTERN COUNTRIES SHOULD  
ACT TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA.

6. THE HORN: GARBA SAID THAT DESPITE THE DIFFICUL-  
TIES HE WAS CONTINUING HIS EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A  
MEETING BETWEEN SOMALIS AND ETHIOPIANS WHICH WOULD  
HAVE NO PRE-CONDITIONS AND WOULD COVER THE WHOLE  
RANGE OF ISSUES BETWEEN THOSE TWO COUNTRIES. THE  
OGADEN WOULD BE ONLY ONE OF THE TOPICS TO BE DIS-  
CUSSED, BUT WHEN IT CAME UP, GARBA SAID HE WOULD  
VISUALIZE HAVING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OGADEN  
LIBERATION FRONT PRESENT.

7. CHAD: GARBA VOICED GUARDED SATISFACTION WITH  
OUTCOME OF THE SEBHA CONFERENCE AND THE FACT THAT  
ANOTHER SUCH MEETING IS FORESEEN IN MARCH. NEVERTHE-  
LESS, HE WAS CLEARLY UNEASY ABOUT THE SITUATION IN  
CHAD AND ANXIOUS THAT A LIBYAN-CONTROLLED REGIME NOT  
BE INSTALLED IN N'DJAMENA.

8. OTHER ISSUES: FRENCH TRIED TO DISPEL NIGERIAN  
FEELING THAT FRANCE WAS HOSTILE TO ECOWAS. THERE  
WAS NO REAL DISCUSSION OF WESTERN SAHARA PROBLEM;  
GARBA SIMPLY SAID NIGERIA WISHED TO MAINTAIN GOOD  
RELATIONS WITH ALL THE STATES IN THE AREA. GARBA  
ACCUSED THE FRENCH OF AN INTERVENTIONIST AFRICAN  
POLICY, CITING PRESENCE OF FRENCH MILITARY FORCES  
IN SEVERAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES, BUT FRENCH REPLIED  
THAT, EXCEPT FOR SPECIAL CASE OF DJIBOUTI, THEY HAVE  
ONLY A FEW HUNDRED TROOPS IN AFRICA; AT A TIME WHEN  
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PAGE 03 PARIS 08261 02 OF 02 081854Z

THERE ARE 11,000 CUBANS FIGHTING A WAR IN  
ETHIOPIA, CRITICISM OF FRENCH PRESENCE SEEMED  
MISPLACED. FRENCH PRESSED NIGERIANS TO HELP LIBERATE  
FRENCH CITIZEN (CHRISTIAN MASSE) TAKEN PRISONER  
RECENTLY NEAR CHAD-NIGERIAN BORDER. FRENCH ARE NOW  
CONVINCED MASSE WAS ACTUALLY CAPTURED IN NORTHEAST  
NIGERIA BY A SMALL BAND OF ROVING OUTLAWS AND THAT

THE INCIDENT HAS NO POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE; NIGERIANS  
ARE WORKING TO OBTAIN HIS RELEASE.  
HARTMAN

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## Message Attributes

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